NATIONAL REVIEW

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October 5, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Reuther: Knight in Tinsel Armor

EDWARD MAHER

The Conservatives Bar Compromise

REVILO OLIVER

Dr. Adenauer's Third Term

ALISTAIR HORNE

Articles and Reviews by · · · · E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

L. BRENT BOZELL · RUSSELL KIRK · RICHARD M. WEAVER

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For the Record

Miklos Szabo, the prominent Hungarian refugee who recently redefected, was planted among the refugees by the Soviet secret police, Hungarian witnesses Eugene Szerdas and Monsignor Bela Varga told the Senate Internal Security subcommittee last week. Szerdas said some of the information he gave Szabo before he realized the latter was a Soviet agent was used in the Budapest trial of Josef Dudas, president of the Hungarian revolutionary council, who was hanged.

The Justice Department has agreed to new trials for convicted Communists Junius Irving Scales and Claude Lightfoot, without waiting for a Supreme Court ruling on their appeals....National Guardian, the pro-Communist magazine, is running a vicious three-part attack on the FBI to offset the popularity of Don Whitehead's The FBI Story, which now has sold over a quarter of a million copies.

The NAACP started drafting a new civil rights bill to present to Congress in January before the first federal soldier had arrived in Arkansas. The NAACP bill would—among other things—authorize the Attorney General to seek injunctions to protect the right of Negroes to attend integrated schools....Senator Frank Church of Idaho, sponsor of the "jury trial" amendment to the recently enacted Rights bill, was dropped as a dinner speaker by the Minnesota Young Democratic-Farmer-Labor organization after several Negroes had objected.

The Boot and Shoe Workers Union last week called on the shoe industry to raise prices. "Substandard prices and profits," say the union leaders, are keeping wage scales low in the industry....According to the Gallup poll, evidence of labor racketeering turned up by the McClellan Committee has resulted in a 12 per cent drop in labor union popularity in the past six months (from 76 per cent to 64 per cent).

A study by the National Association of Manufacturers shows that profit margins have suffered as much as the consumer's pocket in the recent inflation....Denver property owners next year will have their property tax bills broken down to indicate how much of their tax goes to city, state, and schools....The United States this year will seek a reduction in its assessment toward support of the UN. America still is paying more than one-third of the UN bill.

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The WEEK

● Once upon a time a President named Grover Cleveland and an Attorney General named Richard Olney poured federal troops into Illinois to "maintain order" and keep the mails moving during a strike against the Pullman Company. Once upon a time a state Governor, John P. Altgeld, protested that he could keep order in his own local bailiwick without help from the President and the Attorney General. And once upon a time Liberals applauded the state Governor for his insistence that it is not the business of the federal government to employ its force before every available alternative has been proved unavailing. All of this happened, of course, in a period that is now Far Away and Long Ago. *Eheu! fugaces . . .*, as the Romans said.

● "Satchmo" Armstrong, the Negro trumpeter, has accused President Eisenhower of being "two-faced" in his dealings with Governor Faubus of Arkansas, and has said that the U.S. government can "go to hell" for all he cares. He has also declined to visit the Soviet Union at our government's request and expense. As might be expected, the Communist press is making hay all over the place with Satchmo's tootlings. Well, when a Soviet citizen of any creed, race or color can openly call Khrushchev "two-faced," turn down a Moscow "suggestion" that he visit the U.S. on a good-will tour, and inform the Politburo that it can "go to hell," we will feel properly chastised —and impressed.

● In calling on the Detroit motor manufacturers to reduce the size of their cars, Governors Harriman of New York and Leader of Pennsylvania have joined forces with those who seek to imply there is a sinister plot afoot to foist huge and expensive "chariots" on an unwilling public. Apparently the two governors have never heard that it is the customer who calls the turn under free capitalism. The proof? Well, five years ago the Chrysler Company took a chance and put its Plymouth on a short wheelbase—and nearly went broke when old Plymouth buyers shifted to longer and sleeker Fords and Chevvies. When the public shows it wants small cars (it can do this easily by buying enough Ramblers and Metropolitans to put the American Motors Company in the black, and by putting in more orders for the German Volkswagen), the automobile industry as a whole will get the idea. Then the customer will get the niftiest small cars he ever could hope to see.

● The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a thinly disguised Front organization, held a "mass" meeting in Carnegie Hall September 20. Some 2,000 of the Faithful showed up to "support the Constitution as recently interpreted by the Supreme Court" and initiate an "abolitionist" campaign to rid themselves of the House Un-American Activities Committee. But the real show, which was one that would warm the heart of any old-line Communist, was staged on the sidewalks outside. Burning-eyed, ragged revolutionaries shook clenched fists, waved insulting placards, hurled not only insults but even a stink bomb, and generally harrassed the bewildered, well-dressed and well-behaved citizens attending the meeting. The real revolutionaries happened to be Hungarians fresh from a *real* People's Revolt. The irony of this switcheroo was beautiful to behold, but it was entirely lost on the doped and humorless myrmidons of the ECLC.

● The dispute over "little wars" and their place in American strategic doctrine is furnishing new ammunition to the Pentagon's perennial inter-service battle. The Army, supported in this instance by the Navy, sees in the concept of "little wars" a chance to bolster the theoretical case for the existence and strategic priority of "the land force," so badly undermined in the past decade by air power supremacists that some Army men have feared the total extinction of their own service. The Air Force apparently agrees that acceptance of the "little wars" concept would threaten the predominance that the Air Force now enjoys in both doctrine and budget. Air Force spokesmen, in both public and secret, have therefore begun an unconditional attack on the "little wars" idea, and an uncompromising defense of "massive retaliation" as the sole proper strategy for the United States. Mr. Dulles, who first stated the "massive retaliation" concept, has himself shown signs of modifying it in the "little wars" direction—perhaps after reflecting that "massive retaliation" doesn't seem to have been of much relevance in Korea, Indochina, Guatemala, Algeria, Hungary or Syria.

● Dr. Robert F. Goheen, the new President of Princeton, has inaugurated his tenure by withdrawing recognition of the university's Roman Catholic chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Hugh Halton. The reason: Father Halton had objected to the invitation issued by an undergraduate group to Alger Hiss, a convicted perjurer, to speak on the campus, and had observed that "the teachings of some professors at Princeton" were doing more harm than "all the writings of Karl Marx." To Dr. Goheen, Father Halton's exercise of

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free speech was evidence of "bigotry." Evidently two prime qualifications for the job of college president these days are a) an ability to increase the endowments and b) an extremely thin skin.

● Thanks to the new (October) issue of *Foreign Affairs,* there is no further need to take NATIONAL REVIEW's word for the fact that Tito's policy is now identical with the Kremlin's. In an article called "On Certain Current International Questions," he tells us under his own by-line. On every item from German reunification to the Middle East to recognition of Red China he goes down the line—the Moscow line, that is, of course. NATO is "a policy of encirclement, a threat of war and an aggressive attempt to isolate the Soviet Union." The Warsaw Pact is a peace-loving defense against NATO "for the purpose of counter-balancing it." The Communist rule of the East European nations "cannot be reversed by anyone; and it would of course be a mistake even to consider any such possibility." And a tag-line for the State Department: "We have never given anybody reason to hope that we would join the Western bloc."

● The editors of a project, sponsored jointly by the Universities of Chicago and Virginia, to assemble the papers of James Madison have requested NATIONAL REVIEW to ask its readers for help in locating all letters to or from James or Dolly Madison. Anyone who knows of the existence of letters not certain to be known to the editors of the project should address, *The Papers of James Madison,* 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

● The Reuters news agency reports that two escapees from Marshal Tito's national Communist Paradise reached Belgium after a five-day trip in a refrigerated freight car loaded with frozen meat. They explained to the railroad police who found them: "We kept alive on gin." Milovan Djilas will not have that consoling anti-freeze this winter in the unheated Yugoslav prison cell to which he was assigned for the indiscretion of criticizing a regime vouched for by both Comrade Khrushchev and Mr. Dulles.

● The word went down from on high, from Khrushchev himself: no more cities, towns or villages were to be named for *living* Soviet leaders. The reason for this order, according to informed reports, was that Soviet cartographers had fallen hopelessly behind in their efforts to keep their maps in line with the rise and fall of Russian leaders since Stalin's death. But we think we know what was really in Khrushchev's mind. "Mr. K." was piqued that in his years of power not a single town has been renamed Khrushchevskoye, or Khrushchevinsk, or even Nikitagrad, in his honor. Could the thought have crossed his mind that even his own sycophants question his permanence in the number one slot?

● News from Moscow is that Eleanor Roosevelt is visiting Yalta. Evidently she does not believe in ghosts.

The Lie to Mr. Eisenhower

Is History indeed written by the survivors? And will all the survivors indeed be Liberals? If so, History may forgive Dwight Eisenhower, Judge Davies and the Federal Department of Justice for the way they handled the Little Rock intervention controversy, and for the address to the nation in which the President defended it. But not if NATIONAL REVIEW has anything to say about it.

The point is not that the dispatch of federal troops to Little Rock was "unconstitutional": the necessary precedents have been duly cited. They place beyond doubt the President's power, within his own discretion, to find that enforcement of federal law is being "obstructed" in one of the states and to take the situation in hand. The point is, rather, that the course pursued by the federal government was nicely calculated to inflame passions to the maximum, and to create the very "mob rule" which called for the interposition of federal bayonets.

It should be stated at once that when Governor Faubus used the Arkansas National Guard to preserve order by keeping the Negroes *out* of school, he was hardly attempting to effect the peaceful accomplishment of a federal desegregation decision. He was, in effect, "interposing." With the probability that any quick attempt to override the Governor would result in inflaming an entire region, it would have been the course of statesmanship for Judge Davies to hold up on his desegregation order at least long enough to grant the contesting parties a hearing. It would have been statesmanlike for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to put off for a week or two its attempt to force the portals of Central High. When such placating measures were not forthcoming, a statesmanlike President would have at least permitted the city of Little Rock a period in which to handle its own troubles. There is no doubt that some people, both white and colored, had been pushed around, and there had been ugly epithets, but no blood had been spilled. The President, however, insisted on a course of action that has already involved bloodshed and may very well end up in a major tragedy. By throwing in federal guns, he has so committed himself to a course

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that he could not retrace his steps even if he were of a mind to.

NATIONAL REVIEW disputes the interpretation which Mr. Eisenhower has given to events straight down the line. The mob violence to which the President referred in his address was of a nature which any community accustomed to the picket-line practices of monolithic labor unions has witnessed a thousand times over. In Wisconsin, in Michigan, in Ohio, local authorities have been deemed competent to deal with pushings and beatings far uglier than those perpetrated in Little Rock. The amount of violence that did occur proves only that Governor Faubus may have known what he was doing when he threw his National Guardsmen around Central High.

The correct statement is *not*, as Mr. Eisenhower puts it, that "local authorities have not eliminated . . . violent opposition" in Little Rock, but rather that the local authorities had taken the steps necessary for eliminating it, and were forced—by the federal courts and the President of the United States—to undo them. Mr. Eisenhower has proved not that we are "a nation in which laws, not men, are supreme," but rather that we are a nation in which one man, and that man the prisoner of the nation's most dangerous and extreme Liberal ideologues, is powerful enough, and power-hungry enough, to trample under foot the nation's oldest legal tradition, namely: that of the division of power between the federal government and the states. Mr. Eisenhower does not mean it when he speaks of the "primary duty" of the state and local authorities to "preserve the peace"; the record suggests, rather, that he *wanted* to make a show of federal force in Little Rock, and turn the dispute into an object lesson for the thousands of unintegrated communities further South.

Nor is that all. The Eisenhower of the address about Little Rock is the Eisenhower of the days of the Suez dispute—the Eisenhower who cannot distinguish between a copybook maxim and a policy, the Eisenhower who, once in the grip of a platitude, substitutes a world appropriate to that platitude for the real world in which policy must work itself out. We are indeed a nation that places a high value on the supremacy of law; that is why we forebore so long in our dispute with George III and the Parliament of England. But we are also a nation that knows in its heart that blind subordination to law can become, at the margin, slavish subordination to tyranny, a nation, therefore, that places a high value upon the citizen's right to resist a law that he regards as unjust, which is why we finally decided to forebear no longer and, as John Locke liked to put it, "appeal to Heaven." And it is also why Mr. Eisenhower's present course, which he can no longer be expected to modify, will lead ineluctably to the release of the civil war potential that is always present in American society—that is, to the spilling of blood and the sacrifice of lives in local situation after local situation in the Deep South.

The nation's only hope now lies, as we said in this space last week, with the South itself. The "President of all the people" has decreed that the South shall either bow to his will—or be read out of the community; it must rediscover, in the interstices of the Constitution, the means of saying to him—and making it stick—"neither be one nor the other." The President who is the darling of the "moderates" has delivered himself into the hands of the extremists; the South should teach him the abc's of moderation. To that end it should speedily reappraise its whole strategy in the integration dispute, confining itself, henceforth, to measures which because clearly within the constitutional powers of the state governments, will provide no whisper of an excuse for further displays of federal force. It must, in a word, provide the vision that the President clearly lacks. For where there is no vision, the people are lost.

No Howling Storm

Last week the long boom market showed unmistakable signs of wilt. The Dow-Jones industrial average fell 9.46 points in a day—the severest twenty-four-hour drop within a span of two years. Rallies from new lows were selective, spasmodic and half-hearted, and more than one voice was raised to suggest that we might be in for a spell of depression.

Superficially, the philosophers of gloom had something on their side. A free system implies the right of men to make prudent retrenchments, and at the top of a boom free men will inevitably put their fingers to the wind. Certainly it is only prudent to note that there are many portents of a continuing decline in the annual rate of capital investment. The federal government has reported that its original $37.9 billion estimate for new plant and machinery in 1957 will not stand up in the face of cancelled orders. The National Industrial Conference Board has pointed out that investment in new plant undertaken by the thousand biggest corporations during the spring quarter of this year was a fourth less than the investment for the spring quarter of the year before. The Securities and Exchange Commission and the Department of Commerce have agreed in predicting a capital spending drop during the coming autumn. And the *Wall Street Journal*, supplementing its general figures with a company-by-company survey, concludes that spending on new plant and equipment may continue to dip throughout 1958.

Since both Marxists and classical economists agree that a drop in the rate of capital goods purchase

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is both a cause and a concomitant of depression, there is some cause for concern in these reports. But to offset the more extreme prophets of gloom, the attempts to force a parallel with the autumn of 1929 are hardly in accord with the facts. In 1929 the stock market was topheavy with brokers' loans made to finance stock purchasers on less than a shoestring; today the amount of outstanding margin money is negligible. In 1929 stocks were selling for umpteen times their earnings; today most of them have a decent sales price relationship to what they can bring to a person as income. In 1929 foreign governments were seeking standstill agreements and indulging in outright repudiation; today, for better or worse, they have very little to repudiate. In 1929 there was an agricultural depression of long standing; today, though the farmers still grumble, the retail food index stands at a new high—which means that farming is profitable even though the processor gets his own sizable chunk of the food take. In 1929 consumers had used up their installment credit and were pinched for cash; today, personal income is running at a record annual rate of $347.3 billion.

Even the 1957 fall-off in capital investment has its silver lining, for the competition for money has been one of the main sources of our inflationary price rise. A slight relaxation in the rate of capital-goods purchase would certainly do no harm to the average citizen's cost-of-living budget.

Since the informed predictions are that we will remain on a fairly high capital-investment plateau for 1958, and that personal incomes will remain fat, the barometer readings, though down a bit, hardly point to any howling storm.

Pandit Nehru's Deep South

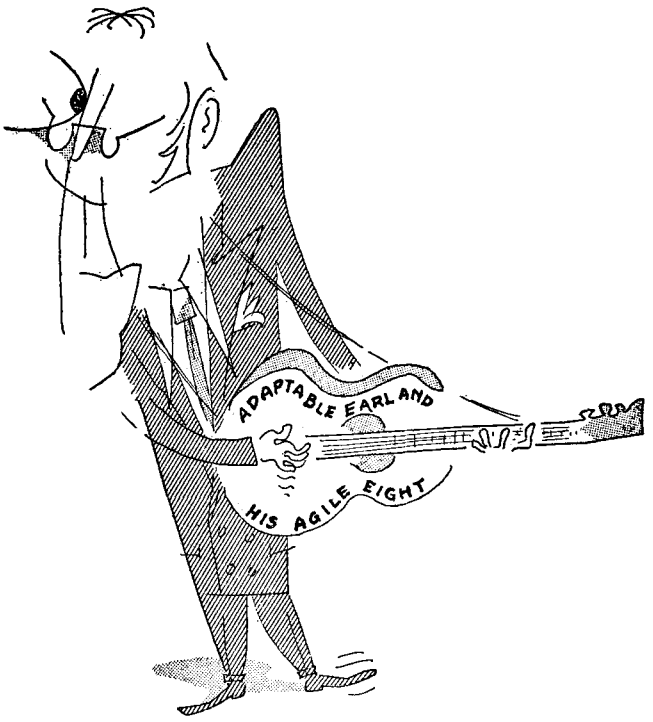
Suppose the dispatch read this way:

"*Washington, Sept. 22.* Forty persons, perhaps more, have died so far in a flare-up of America's ancient tragedy, violence between whites and Negroes, in the southern part of the state of Georgia.

"For eleven days the people of Moultrie County have been living in terror. Homes have been burned, armed bands have fought in villages and fields, houses of worship have been sacked and the police have opened fire on ten occasions.

"In Washington, officials say the situation is serious and could spread.

"Negro-white segregation has its roots in traditional community sentiment. But race troubles in Moultrie County, as in most of the South, also involve politics and economics. The Supreme Court is making efforts to destroy school segregation. These efforts have brought trouble. The latest trouble seems to be based in politics. The Negroes and the white Republicans



Kreuttner

" — and now, at the request of some acquaintances we just met in an alley, our Rock 'n' Roll version of 'The Document'!"

have formed a potent alliance against the Democrats.

"No one in Washington is certain how the trouble started. One official said the trouble began when a white Democratic politician was 'insulted' by Negroes. Others say the riots were touched off by the murder of a Negro by white Democrats.

"Tough state police from Atlanta were rushed in, and there have been investigations into reports of brutality and police firing."

If that had been the dispatch, we have a faint idea of what the repercussions would have been, though the Arkansas incidents have at present writing included *no* deaths, *no* armed bands, *no* home-burnings or church-wreckings. Add these and just try to imagine the size of the headlines, the spread of the photos, the yardage of print in all cities of the world both East and West; the speeches at the UN, the monstrous cartoons, the adjectives of columnists, the sermons of statesmen. . . . The mind boggles!

But because this dispatch—word for word as here given, except for the proper names—was datelined not Washington but New Delhi; because it was the state of Madras not Georgia; because it was Untouchables and Hindus, not Negroes and whites: because of these changes of décor, it was buried in a back page even of the encyclopedic *New York Times;* scarcely any other paper published a single line concerning it, and of course no photograph; not an editorial or column was written; not a single comment was made

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by a single statesman. Not even the tiniest phrase in the many-phrased press conference of that prince of humanitarians, that sternest of moralists, the President of the United States.

Sold

A good book needs to be done on the political assassination of Senator Robert Taft—by Republicans (for it was they, not the Communists or the Democrats, whom he coped with easily, who did him in). It is strange that the story has not been told, and one would think that a venturesome publisher would get cracking. Concededly, it would be an explosive book, for there are many men involved, in politics, business and the press, of exquisite rectitude, who behaved toward Taft in the manner of a Boss Hague or a Harry Truman, *i.e.*, filthily, and without scruple.

Recently Tex McCrary was so candid as to admit to a journalist doing a profile of him that he had fought hard and dirty against Taft in the crucial primary in New Hampshire. "I planted people in every Taft audience," he said. "I would have mothers get up to say, 'I have a son who is being drafted—and he wants me to ask you why your voting record is the same as Marcantonio's.' " Such gifts as these to the advancement of political understanding were made by the very high and the very mighty, including—the author of such a book would find—that prince of political probity, Dwight David Eisenhower.

There would be much to learn, surely, from such an investigation into the political methods of the New Republicans? If anybody writes such a book, put us down for a copy.

Let One Flower Bloom at Harvard

"Let a hundred flowers bloom, let diverse schools of thought contend," Mao Tse-tung told his subjects last winter, and soon chopped off the heads of those so naive as to take him at his word.

In Harvard's Yard, direct action of this type is frowned on. Conformity, to be sure, but not by so unmannerly—so, well, so un-Harvardian—an action as head-chopping. Harvard has a neater solution than Comrade M's. If only a single flower is allowed to bloom (and let "Crimson" be its name) and only one school of thought to prevail, then what need is there for the chopping block?

So it is that a group of Harvard undergraduates, bored with the one-dimensional view of contemporary politics which the Harvard faculty as a whole gives its students, found the going tough when they determined to start a political magazine expressing a conservative viewpoint.

They wanted to call it *The Harvard Fortnightly*. For one reason, because that's what it was to be: a Harvard magazine published by Harvard students. For another, because the name "Harvard"—and the charter which goes with it—would give the young editors authorized campus outlets for the sale and distribution of their magazine.

But the Harvard label is not lightly given. The editors were told they could use it only if they had two faculty sponsors; and these they cannot find. Among the better than three thousand faculty members of Harvard—an institution which we keep constantly reminding ourselves was founded to "advance learning and perpetuate it to Posterity"—there is not one, apparently, who both wants and dares to back these young deviationists.

Maybe Harvard used up all its courage in last winter's gallant defense of Oppenheimer's "right to be heard."

No Substitutes Wanted

Fast on the heels of the resounding rebuke the voters of Wisconsin gave "modern Republicanism" in the recent senatorial election has come another warning—four thousand miles away—to parties that win elections as presumptive opponents of the Welfare State and then proceed to carry on the Welfare State. The parliamentary constituency of Gloucester in England is a "marginal seat." At the last general election Labor won by a plurality of some 700 votes. In a by-election September 13, the Labor and Liberal votes taken together (there had been no Liberal candidate in the general election) were 15,000 over the Conservative vote; and Labor's plurality over the Conservatives was more than 8,000.

There was much talk in the Conservative Party of reorganization, of replacing Oliver Poole, the man responsible for election activities, of the need for "color" and the "big approach." But one lesson that neither the British Conservative Party nor our Republican Party seems willing to learn is that the only chance a conservative party has to win is to be conservative and stay that way. If the voters really want the Welfare State, they'll take the original brand, not a watered imitation.

Our Contributors: EDWARD MAHER ("Reuther: Knight in Tinsel Armor") is Vice President of the National Association of Manufacturers, in charge of Public Relations. . . . ALISTAIR HORNE ("Dr. Adenauer's Third Term"), an English journalist, is the author of *Back Into Power*, a story of the rehabilitation of Germany.

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National Trends

Morris v. Rauh: Should Committees Investigating Communism Be Liquidated?

L. BRENT BOZELL

The program committee had a real treat in store for the Federal Bar Association's annual convention in Washington last week. There wasn't a lawyer in the place without decided opinions on the Supreme Court's efforts to regulate congressional committees; what could be better, under the circumstances, than a debate between the attorney who won the Watkins case, and the chief counsel for the congressional committee which stands to suffer most from the Watkins case? The principals actually deserved an even gaudier billing: the co-founder of Americans for Democratic Action and now chief spokesman and strategist for the Establishment's Civil Liberties Division *versus* the nation's most famous anti-Communist investigator, one of three or four men in public life today who act and talk as though the internal conspiracy were a present menace.

Nothing, as things worked out, could have been better. The debate was neither a rehash of the arguments heard by the Court in *Watkins* nor a lawyers' quarrel over how the decision should be interpreted. What needed explaining. both men seemed to feel, was where we are after twenty years of tumultuous national controversy over Communist investigations. From their very different points of view, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., and Robert Morris came up with much the same answers.

Judge Morris began by reminding his audience of certain fundamentals that inhere in the American system of government: "The Constitution clearly provided for a separation of powers. . . . In order to fulfill their respective functions, both the legislative and judicial branches must engage in fact-finding. Facts are as essential to intelligent legislating as they are to intelligent adjudicating." Then, applying these principles to subversion: "Congress has the obligation to learn the underlying facts of [the Communist] conspiracy. . . . The principal source of evidence must necessarily be those people who have sat behind the closed doors of Communist councils." But the Supreme Court in the Watkins case, Morris went on, "created a new legal fiction . . . the right to 'freedom of association.'" The result is that "unless certain impossible conditions are met, Congress cannot require qualified witnesses to testify about the details of the conspiracy."

That is the situation, Morris bluntly advised his legal brethren. The question is whether lawyers, and the American people in general, want anti-Communist investigations to die.

Mr. Rauh agreed that this was the question. And his answer was yes—*he* did want them to die. Only not too slowly. The restrictions on congressional investigations imposed by the Court were all to the good—he contemptuously ignored Morris' point that they happened to be unconstitutional. But the restrictions were not enough. "What we must now do," Rauh said, "is *abolish* the committees."

"Do you mean that *all* congressional investigating committees should be abolished?" the moderator put in.

No, Rauh replied, only those that investigate Communism. The Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, which employs Judge Morris, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities must go because they no longer "have any useful service to perform. . . . They have been investigating the Communist conspiracy for twenty years. . . . If they don't know all about it by this time, they never will." If they haven't yet "discovered the patterns of the Communist operation," they ought to be dissolved for "incompetence."

The smirk on Rauh's face during this sally was no bigger than the one he always wears. The argument may have been fatuous, but he was dead serious about the objective. He was ready with "six reasons" for immediate abolition: the committees are dealing in "exposure for exposure's sake" (cf. the *Watkins* opinion); they try to "stifle criticism" of themselves; they engage in "political activity"; they set a "bad example" for state investigating committees; the *need* for anti-subversive probes has disappeared (the point he made earlier); finally, the end of the two committees would have "symbolic importance," for it "would signal at home and abroad the true end of McCarthyism."

The convention listened attentively to Rauh's *démarche;* the applause was perhaps less generous than for Morris, but it indicated respect for the position. True, the program committee's topic, "Should Congressional Committees Be Subject to Judicial Review?" had been revised to "Should Congressional Committees Be Liquidated?"—but hardly anyone thought the worse of Rauh for that. Some of the lawyers felt that the Supreme Court, itself, looks upon the two questions as the same question. Others appreciated realities: *Watkins* was history—it was to be expected that Rauh and his fellow civil liberties cultists, having knocked out the enemy's main positions, would push on with the final, mop-up operation.

Will the operation succeed? Probably, but not unaided. Should leftist agitators bring the matter to a vote in the next session of Congress—and they may well do so—they will lose; though perhaps by a lesser margin than in 1947 when House Liberals tried to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. For ultimate victory, the operation is counting on its foes—on Congress being too timid or too bored to unloose the shackles imposed by the Warren Court; on committee members being too busy to attend hearings on subversion; on ex-Communists being too dubious about their treatment in official quarters to come forward with new evidence; and most important, on the voters, who once made Washington jump, being too complacent to put the pressure on.

Congressional committees, as both Morris and Rauh are aware, need not die violently. There is an alternative: Congress discovers one of these days that anti-Communist investigations are getting nowhere, and stops appropriating money for them.

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Reuther: Knight in Tinsel Armor

The self-appointed Galahad of the Labor movement pretends to speak for the public; but on analysis, says the author, his latest demands threaten the general welfare and that of his own members

EDWARD MAHER

The Sir Galahad of the labor movement is polishing his armor and sharpening his weapons for yet another joust with the industry in which most of his followers earn their living. Toward the end of next May, Walter Reuther will mount his plumed charger for finishing drives against a series of strong points he expects by that time to have isolated, outflanked, undermined and generally demoralized.

Reuther's strategic and tactical plans have been battle-tested and proved by previous victories in his continuing war on the automobile industry. The giants of the industry seem to be too absorbed in competing with each other to prepare any concerted strategy against him; his confidence in the ultimate outcome could hardly be more complete—or, in all likelihood, more justified.

In the preliminary skirmishing, already well under way, Reuther is running true to form. He boldly equates his objectives with the public good—a maneuver at which he is extraordinarily adept.

A shorter work-week with more pay for fewer hours? Why not? Employers are well able to absorb the added cost out of what Reuther calls their "enormous profits." Moreover, with something called "automation" coming in, a lot of people will be put out of jobs—unless Reuther and other union leaders force management to live up to its responsibilities. To the general public, composed mostly of people who work for a living, Sir Walter's ringing challenge sounds like sweet music.

The trouble is that most people haven't yet learned to look beyond the resounding generalities that supposedly responsible union leaders like Walter Reuther toss off so glibly. They haven't yet learned to question whether the nice things Reuther says about himself and his motives are true. Not enough of them, so far, have discovered that while Reuther bleeds for all humanity, it is the members of *his* union who get what appear to be gains, while they—the public—bleed in the end through inflation, higher prices and decreased buying power for everyone's money.

The American economy is not composed of solid entities called "management," "labor" and "consumers." It is composed of different kinds of management and of companies of all sizes in many lines of business, some of which earn profits in any given year and some of which don't. It is composed of various types of labor, with a wide range of different skills —and of union and non-union people. It is composed, moreover, of as many different kinds of consumers as there are people.

Statistical Traps

Even in the same industry, no two companies are in an identical situation. Products differ, processes differ, management methods differ. And the ability to earn profit varies from time to time. Added labor costs that Company A might take in stride might mean suicide for Company B. Nothing but confusion, therefore, can come from dealing in generalities—from citing figures or statistics for an industry, or for the economy as a whole, as if they applied to all companies alike—or from doing the opposite, and citing figures for a single company as if they applied to an entire industry or the whole economy. Reuther does either or both as suits his purpose.

Such crafty use of statistics sets traps for the unwary. The traps can be avoided only by recourse to certain economic principles which *do* apply generally and from which there is no escape. One of these is that the real economic world never provides something for nothing. If Walter Reuther wins a shorter work-week for his followers, at the same or more pay, the consumers of the nation will foot the bill in one way or another.

The public always has a choice between more leisure and more goods; indeed, it daily makes such a choice in its aggregate economic decisions. Some years ago the nation established a 40-hour week by law. However, this hasn't meant that people work only 40 hours, but rather that they get time-and-a-half for all hours in excess of forty. Actual working time in the aggregate is still determined by the public's choice between goods and leisure, and the chief effect of the 40-hour law has been to throw an added cost factor into the economic equation.

The additional cost of the goods that are produced at time-and-a-half wage rates must be absorbed by the price structure, and it thus tends to influence the over-all public choice between goods and leisure (toward less goods than might otherwise have been demanded, without a corresponding increase in leisure). To put the point differently: assuming the same wage rate in both cases, it can hardly be disputed that we can produce more goods and services to consume, to defend the nation, to aid our allies, or to pay off the national debt by working 45 hours a week than by working forty.

What's more, there is ample evidence that, given the choice, most workers prefer more goods to more free time. Samplings of manual work-

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ers' opinions show that 63 per cent of those with views on the subject would rather work the same hours they do now and get a raise in pay than work fewer hours at the same pay. Even some union leaders have recognized that workers want to work longer hours if they can get more pay for it.

George Brooks, research director of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, in a speech delivered last September before the AFL-CIO Conference on Shorter Work Hours, put it this way:

> . . . . There is no evidence in recent experience that workers want shorter daily or weekly hours. The evidence is all on the other side. Hundreds of local and International officials have testified that the most numerous and persistent grievances are disputes over the sharing of overtime work. The issue is not that someone has been made to work, but that he has been deprived of a chance to make overtime pay. Workers are eager to increase their incomes, not to work fewer hours.

In the light of this expert testimony, what becomes of Reuther's contention that workers want and need more leisure? Stripped of its gaudy emotional wrappings, the Holy Grail Sir Walter seeks turns out to be not more time off, so that workers can improve their minds and their culture, but simply more money. Automobile workers may work just as many hours as they do now, depending on public demand for their products. But premium pay will start earlier and more work-hours will be at the lush time-and-a-half rates.

A Handy Device

Now, let us look at the consequences to the automobile industry. Won't car prices go up? According to Reuther, not at all. The industry, he insists, can easily pay the added labor costs out of its "enormous profits." Here we get into the kind of economic generality against which the public—including workers in the automobile industry—needs to be alerted. Even if the so-called "Big Three" in the automobile industry could afford higher labor costs without raising prices—a matter that only the companies themselves are in a position to determine—what of the other auto manufacturers, who even now are having a hard time keeping up with the industry's competitive pace?

Reuther's "ability to pay" theory is a handy device he uses only when it helps him get his way. Once a contract has been signed with the company most able to pay, he brutally imposes the same terms on all other producers in the industry, whether they are able to pay or not. The small company isn't permitted the luxury of bargaining for itself—of proving that unless car prices are increased, it will have to close up shop.

Small Companies Would Suffer

And what of the thousands of little companies that supply parts? Actually, direct payroll costs represent only about 30 per cent of the over-all costs among the "Big Three." Outside purchases represent roughly 70 per cent. Any contract with the "Big Three" would be extended instantly to these suppliers. Even assuming the "Big Three" could absorb their added costs through improved efficiency or "automation," an assumption valid only within narrow limits, the 30,000 or so suppliers who furnish the outside purchases could not; they would have to raise their prices or go out of business.

Of course, as manufacturing technology improves through the development of more efficient machinery and methods, more goods can be turned out in less time. As this process continues, hours of work can be reduced. Already hours worked in manufacturing have come down from 53 a week at the turn of the century to around forty today, while the standard of living of factory workers has been raised by 166 per cent. But here again generalities don't apply. Output per man-hour in some industries improves almost steadily; in others, however, it improves not at all, or even decreases. The automobile industry is one of those in which change has been most rapid, especially in the larger companies where volume permits full exploitation of improved manufacturing methods.

Consumers Also Have Rights

Why isn't it right for the auto industry to reduce hours below forty a week? The answer is that to do so would be unfair to the general public.

The benefits of an improving technology cannot rightly be considered the exclusive property of the industry in which the improvement takes place, or of the workers in that industry. The public as a whole is entitled to share in the benefits. But the public cannot benefit if the entire gain is eaten up in higher wages, shorter hours, or both. Some of the gain belongs to consumers in the form of more goods at lower prices.

Furthermore, the pattern set in a key industry like automobile manu-

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facturing spreads quickly and widely to other segments of the economy, where increases in productivity may be small or even non-existent. Many manufacturing and most service industries make little or no technological progress. Yet the workers in these industries are sure to want the shorter work-week too if Reuther succeeds in getting it for his people. This means a higher general price level, more inflation and a lower standard of living. The nation as a whole can move ahead without inflation only if those companies which are increasing productivity pass a good part of the savings on in lower prices. In the long run, this would permit workers in those areas of the economy which are unable to show productivity gains to get wage increases too without forcing up the general level of prices.

The Shorter Work-Week

This does not mean we must all forget about the shorter work-week or the three-day week end. Some day we may make it, and still be able to turn out a sufficient amount of goods and services to keep our living standards moving ahead. But unless hours of work can be shortened for everyone pretty much at the same time, by sharing gains in productivity wherever achieved, we won't be able to maintain a stable economy and avoid inflation. If we allow Reuther, by a sheer power play, to grab what rightfully belongs to all of us, or if we attempt to shorten working hours by law, we will obtain either a lower standard of living or more inflation—or both.

The extent to which working hours can be generally decreased depends, in the final analysis, upon how the public continues to make its choice between more goods or more leisure. Indications are that if the public is given the chance to choose with all the facts out in the open, it will choose more goods for some time to come.

The appetite of the American people for a higher standard of living is virtually insatiable. Also, the population is growing at a rapid rate; it is estimated that by 1975 we shall have perhaps 60 million more people in the country than we have now, all of whom will want goods and services up to the American standard. We shall have to build a tremendous number of schools, and hospitals, and roads, and office buildings, and manufacturing plants, and make payments on a national debt of more than $270 billion. The cost of national defense and foreign aid will continue to be higher for as far ahead as anyone can see.

The only way we can accomplish all of this is by working and producing, and the more we work the more we will produce. To meet our needs and keep our living standards moving upward at the pace we are used to, we shall have to be producing at least twice as much in goods and services by 1975 as we are today.

Asiatic Flew

I believa
First dose of said
Dreadful Bane
Came when Chou
Took the plane
To Geneva

JOHANNES EFF

It happens, however, that the big bulge in our population growth will come in the groups too young and too old to be counted as part of the work force. There will be only about one-third more people in groups considered of working age. If we are to produce twice as much in goods and services with only one-third more people at work, it is obvious we're going to need a great deal more mechanization and automation than we have now. Our problem is likely to be labor shortages rather than unemployment, and we are not going to be able to do any serious cutting of the work-week without denying ourselves many of the things we want.

Economic Facts to All

The question thus becomes, How to prevent union leaders from using their monopoly power to grab all the fruits of technological progress, and more, while forcing steady inflation on the rest of us.

Part of the answer has got to be more economic understanding on the part of the American public, union members in particular. There is, fortunately, nothing very complicated about the problem. Anyone who is able to figure out whether his pay check is correct can understand it—if the facts are put before him. What is needed is a more determined effort to bring the facts home to people mesmerized by Walter Reuther's rhetoric.

Business concerns, in particular, must overcome their shyness, lethargy, sense of defeatism, or whatever it is that keeps them from telling their story in a forthright and confident manner. Each company must tell the essential facts about its own business and its industry, both to its employees and to its neighbors in the community. It must point out to employees that when union leaders incite them to demand a shorter work-week or more pay at the expense of profits, they are inviting the workers to cut their own throats. It must point out—among other things—that unless profits are adequate, industry will not be able to install the vastly expensive mechanical equipment that may make a shorter work-week possible without a lowering of living standards.

The New Monopoly

Especially, business leaders must come to grips with the fact of union monopoly power, and forego the "peace-at-any-price" attitude that has led to the surrender of vital economic principles almost without a struggle. The American people do not like union monopoly power any more than business leaders do. But if business leaders accept it and accommodate their operations to it, the public will accept it too: the public is not going to get excited by spontaneous combustion.

At the same time, business leaders must show what needs to be done to achieve sound and substantial progress for everyone. Logic, common sense, and the truth are all on their side: These powerful weapons can overcome the propaganda and blustering of union leaders if employers will wield them courageously.

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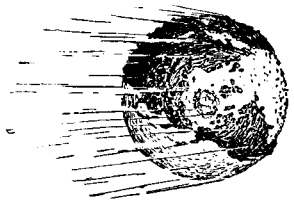

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

The Burnt Child Jumps into the Fire

There is nothing surprising in the fact that Communists lie all the time, but it hard to figure out why the rest of us continue to believe them. Communists are liars on principle. All means that serve the Party's ends are justified. A lie that can promote the interest of the Party, the Soviet Union and the world revolution, is not a sin but a revolutionary duty.

Of course—when they judge that truth will better serve the revolution—Communists occasionally tell a truth. But we should never grant to their statements a *presumption of truth.*

Communists lie about everything. What they say often has no relation whatever to reality. The Moscow Trial frameups of 1936-38 were packed with meetings, incidents and people that never were or could have been. When Max Eastman published the text of "Lenin's Testament," Stalin—backed by his Party opponent, Trotsky—dismissed it as a forgery. A few years later, when political needs had shifted, first Trotsky and then Stalin affirmed its authenticity. In Soviet history books, Civil War battles were invented for Stalin to have won; and blotted from the record so that Trotsky need not be named. Shepilov denied Soviet deportations from Hungary at the very moment that trainloads of captured Hungarians were rolling east across the border. Khrushchev declared one year that Malenkov was Beria's intended victim; and the next, that Malenkov was Beria's accomplice.

Statistics as Lies

Information and statistics put out by the Soviet Union are nothing but a patchwork of lies. Dialectics, after all, *defines* statistics as "a weapon in the class struggle." There is not a single Soviet statement concerning the Soviet Union that should be accepted without skeptical examination.

For years the Kremlin denied the famine and deportations of 1932-33; and then began liquidating those it accused—often quite falsely—of being responsible for them. For still more years all Communists denied the existence of Soviet forced labor camps; and then announced that they had been abolished. Soviet population statistics are a series of contradictions, seemingly designed to obscure the striking absence of the giant expansion rate that socialism was supposed to bring.

The statistics of the Five Year Plans are lies both before and after. In each field each Plan always calls for a steep, straight-line yearly advance. The planned advance is invariably fulfilled. This has been the happy result since 1929 (when the first Plan started), but there are still the same extreme shortages in goods, housing, autos, clothing, electricity, roads, locomotives, trucks and so on.

The mystery is why anybody pays any attention to these Soviet reports and statistics. A few weeks ago they announced a super-advance in oil production: 500 per cent since 1945 (their figures said), from 20 million to 100 million tons yearly. This was immediately publicized in our major newspapers and magazines—not as a Soviet claim, not even as coming from Soviet sources, but simply as a remarkable Soviet achievement. Conceivably it could be true, but we have no reason to believe it. It is absolutely out of line with other purported statistics for the period: with, for example, the modest reported increase in oil-using equipment during Plan V, 1950-54 (30 per cent for diesel generators, 8 per cent for diesel locomotives, 20 per cent for motor vehicles). Perhaps they learned how to make vodka out of petroleum.

Quite probably the Kremlin itself has only a vague idea of Soviet production statistics. Obviously an economic manager is going to do his best to hide his failure to "fulfill the Plan."

Last winter Khrushchev suddenly declared that within a few years the Soviet Union was going to surpass the United States in the production of meat and dairy products. The idea was just silly—and brutally cynical in relation to his own poor subjects—but it got the usual headlined, ponderous treatment instead of sardonic laughter. The Soviet Empire, with its built-in agricultural collapse, can scarcely raise for its people enough calories in the form of grain. How, even in a couple of generations, could it hope to shift to a high-cost diet of meat and dairy products that represent three or four times as much grain per food calorie?—how, especially, when in forty years Communism has not raised the average diet an iota over Czarist days?

Military Lies

More headlines and headshakings greeted the Soviet jets last month. Actually these crudely converted, fuel-gobbling bombers passed off as passenger transports were a proof of the backwardness of Soviet aviation, not of triumphs.

The Soviet "atomic explosion" announced by President Truman in September 1949, was probably not even an atomic bomb, and certainly no sign that Soviet production of nuclear weapons had started. But from that moment on the gullible opinion of the West granted Moscow an "atomic stalemate." The Communists gained the political and strategic advantage of a complete nuclear arsenal years before they had it—if, indeed, they have it even today.

We are now witnessing the same process in connection with missiles. At Moscow's mere mention of a "successful ICBM test," the drugged verbalists of the West not only believed, but granted the Soviet Union a practically decisive missile lead now and for all time to come. So once again the Communists get the strategic and political use of a weapons-system superiority that they do not possess, in a material sense, and probably will never possess.

Could it be that the unyielding Soviet resistance to a serious armament inspection setup springs from their wish to hide from us not what they have but what they do not have?

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The Conservatives Bar Compromise

An observer who last year reported pessimism among conservatives now finds them hopeful, aggressive—and united against the federal income tax

REVILO OLIVER

In Chicago on September 13th to 15th some seven hundred delegates from 32 states participated in a convention that may provide American conservatives with their first opportunity in a quarter of a century to change national policy. The three-day series of meetings combined the "National Tax Protest Rally," organized by the Conservative Alliance, with the third annual convention of We, The People. At least 47 conservative organizations were officially or unofficially represented.

The meetings covered almost the whole range of conservative protest. A panel of farmers condemned the increasing collectivization of American agriculture through price and crop controls; teachers and parents denounced the use of the public schools to debauch the adolescent mind and implant socialistic superstitions; a group of physicians inveighed against the obvious preparations for socialized medicine, mass medication and psychological brainwashing; businessmen and taxpayers complained again of the exploitation of the American people by an insatiable bureaucracy; and other panels expressed resentment of the constant attrition of the civil rights of ordinary Americans.

Mr. Dan Smoot plausibly argued that the whole effect of Foreign Aid is to finance the spread of Communism throughout the world. Mr. D. B. Lewis, whose company (Lewis Food Co.), undaunted by Liberal threats of boycott, sponsors Mr. Smoot's weekly program on 58 radio and 25 television stations, reported that his company's business had greatly increased since its sponsorship began.

If one may judge from the meeting in Chicago, the tenor of conservative opinion has changed significantly during the past year. It has become sterner and more forthright—less pessimistic and more aggressive. The majority of those whom I interviewed in Chicago, unlike the majority in Memphis last year, felt that conservatism has at least a fighting chance. Reports from almost all the communities represented suggested that the Liberals may at last overreach themselves. The recent decisions of the Supreme Court that appear designed to protect traitors and thwart the Congress, and the ill-concealed determination of social reformers to destroy the South, have alarmed or angered a significant number of citizens — particularly young men, who were hitherto politically complaisant or indifferent.

No Deals with Establishment

Before the last election the majority of conservatives spoke hopefully of the possibility that Senator Knowland might be the Republican candidate in 1960. Judging again by the meeting in Chicago, that sentiment has completely disappeared. The consensus was that "Knowland is another Trojan Horse, like Eisenhower." For this change the Senator's recent record is partly responsible, but it is noteworthy that conservatives are no longer in a mood to tolerate a candidate's attempts to ingratiate himself with Liberals on the grounds of "political necessity." If a candidate wishes to command conservative support in the next election, he must not compromise with the Establishment. Whether he can win without such compromise is, of course, another question. But in their present temper conservatives have become wary and skeptical, remembering that ever since they voted for Roosevelt on the strength of his eminently conservative promises, they have repeatedly been tricked by candidates who baited socialistic hooks with conservative verbiage.

Conservative political groups are now more numerous than ever. On the other hand, most of them are small (their representatives are discreetly vague when asked the extent of the membership). Some are internally weakened by scarcely concealed jealousies. Cooperation between them is impeded by competition for members, mutual suspicions, and recriminations. (Fears of "infiltration" and "sabotage" are doubtless exaggerated, but it seems clear that they are not entirely without foundation.) And I must record with regret that the last night of the meetings was marred by two semi-public breaches of ordinary decorum.

The following comments seem in order:

In addition to personal antagonisms and the probable desire of a very few men to convert a minor organization into a major source of personal income, there are more honorable causes of disagreement. To the inevitable dissent about certain principles and the wide variation of views on political strategy must be added this fact: Conservatives differ temperamentally from Liberals: *they tend to think for themselves and to say what they think, and they will always refuse to march in goose step behind a Leader.*

A major division among conservatives is between those who welcome the organization of a "third party" and those who oppose it. The former argue that the Liberal minority has so effectively captured control of both major parties that it will always be able to confront the American people with a choice between the Walrus and the Carpenter; that both Republicans and Democrats began as "third parties" and yet elected Presidents soon after they were organized; and that a great issue and imminent peril can yet stir men to unwonted action. Their opponents somewhat dogmatically claim that

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"not even one per cent of the people would so much as listen to a third party," and more plausibly argue that if conservatives can build up a precinct organization that is strong enough to elect a candidate in any district, they can with less effort and greater security force one of the existing parties to nominate a truly conservative candidate—whom they might then elect without the risk of "splitting the vote."

The only "third party" in evidence in Chicago was the Constitution Party, which, although not recognized officially, had a small suite in the hotel and discreetly distributed its publications. The party, now under its third national chairman in less than a year, appears to be emerging from a period of internal stress or confusion. Its greatest strength is still in Texas, where it is said to have 125,000 active members, but it has just opened headquarters in Washington, D.C., and claims to be making significant progress in several states. In California, where the party claims that 50,000 voters are registered at the polls as members (so that it is now entitled to a place on the ballot in the next election), it appears to have been made the target of a weird political stratagem. I have seen letters, couched in a gushing and intimate style, that have been sent to women members of the party by writers who identify themselves only as "Mary" or "Elizabeth," and profess to have discovered that the party is dominated by "hate-mongers" who served in the Army during the recent war and are therefore planning, as soldiers will, a military *coup d'état* complete with "blood running in the streets." Despite this flamboyant touch, the letters were evidently devised with some acumen, for every woman probably knows a number of Marys and Elizabeths whom she cannot otherwise identify.

This much emerges clearly: Conservatives in the United States, particularly west of the Alleghenies, are becoming somewhat more articulate and positive. And the real significance of the meeting lies in the possibility to which it points, of concerted and successful political action based on one issue, the income tax.

Three essentially different proposals concerning the income tax were represented at the meeting: 1) a constitutional amendment that would limit the maximum rate of taxation to 25 per cent; 2) plans for a gradual reduction of both personal and corporate taxes such as those proposed by the National Association of Manufacturers, Congressman Sadlak, and Mr. Sartell Prentice, Jr.; 3) repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment and, thereby, abolition of all federal taxes on personal income. At the opening of the meeting on Friday, as nearly as I could ascertain, less than half of the delegates were inclined toward the most drastic of these proposals, but it was eloquently and cogently championed by three principal speakers, Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn of New York, former Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah, and Willis E. Stone, president of the American Progress Foundation. By the end of the sessions repeal seemed to have won virtually unanimous support.

The conservatives' radical remedy for our national affliction will undoubtedly be met with considerable incredulity. For all that the graduated income tax was recommended by Karl Marx as the most expeditious means of liquidating civilized society, that tax is now generally accepted in the United States as a necessary evil—partly because we have grown accustomed to the bipartisan policy that "we tax to spend to elect to tax to spend to elect," and partly because even those who do not receive bribes from the federal Treasury generally believe that without this form of taxation the operations of the federal government would somehow be impossible.

Political Dynamite

The cogency of the new proposal therefore depends in large part on the accuracy of the statistics compiled by Mr. Stone. His elaborate tables indicate that in 1954, for example, the 740 federal corporate activities that operate in direct competition with private industry and ownership cost the nation approximately $28.5 billion, while foreign aid cost $4.7 billion. These two unnecessary and injurious expenses amount to almost $700 million *more* than the total revenue from all personal income taxes ($32.5 billion). It can thus be said that more than the entire revenue from the income tax was used to finance domestic and foreign socialism, and that, in consequence, no part of it was used for national defense or any other legitimate government activity.

Mr. Stone further calculates that the property acquired in recent years by the federal government, comprising 20 per cent of the nation's industrial capacity and 40 per cent of its land, could within a few years be sold to private investors for at least 22 per cent of its book value, thus retiring some $50 billion of the public debt. He further calculates that the increase in revenue from existing taxes would provide a surplus of about $4 billion per annum which could be applied to continued retirement of government bonds without the slightest diminution in the present rate of expenditure for armaments, Presidential helicopters, and other national necessaries and luxuries.

If Mr. Stone's figures are correct, the income tax is manifestly unnecessary and obviously calculated to promote political corruption and social revolution. The conservatives will thus have a program that can be presented clearly and persuasively to every audience, and that will offer to every voter the prospect of a definite cash return that he can compute for himself. Many of the recipients of governmental bribes would discover that they could make more money by not selling their votes and their birthright. This could be political dynamite.

All the speakers agreed in identifying the income tax as the root of political evil. Congressman Gwinn bluntly declared that "we have become one of the worst of the socialist nations," with our moral guilt only aggravated by the hypocritical and ridiculous pretense that we are a "free nation" and the champions of human freedom. He predicted that most legislators would, at least in their hearts, welcome relief from the monstrous corruption and systematic terrorism of the Establishment.

Governor Lee saw in repeal of the income tax the assurance of two benefits that far outweigh the financial. It would abolish the legions of snoopers and bullies who have come to regard American taxpayers as their serfs, and use their authority as an instrument of corruption, since some major bureaucrats are known to dis-

(*Continued on p.* 311)

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Dr. Adenauer's Third Term

Dr. Adenauer's spectacular victory is also a victory for the Free World, says the author—yet his high-handed methods may do lasting harm to the new German democracy

ALISTAIR HORNE

Bonn

After the disaster at the recent Gloucester by-election when the Socialists converted a marginal seat into an 8,000 majority, Dr. Adenauer's astonishing performance in the West German elections fills a British Conservative with a feeling of wistful envy. Indeed his electoral progress in the eight years since the Federal Republic was formed has been such as to invite the envy of conservative forces all over the world.

In 1949, Dr. Adenauer's Christian Democrats came to power with only 31 per cent of the total votes, and for four years they governed on a tightrope by means of a rickety coalition. In 1953, they increased their majority to 45 per cent, giving them an absolute majority of one seat, but still leaving them vulnerable to the whims of their coalition partners. In the recent elections, Dr. Adenauer increased his lead still further to 51.8 per cent, compared with the Social Democrats' 31.8 per cent, and he is now quite plainly in a strong enough position to govern effectively without aid from any other party; the only government of the major continental powers to be in this happy state.

The full value of Dr. Adenauer's services to the Free World during the past eight years is perhaps even now underestimated by the West, and there is good reason to rejoice that the same steadfast hand will continue to be at the helm of the Federal Republic. When Dr. Adenauer first came to power, the West Germans were in a thoroughly neurotic state; overworked and undernourished, with a look of fear still in their eyes as a legacy of the *Goetterdaemmerung of* 1945 and the fearful non-stop bombardments of the war, and a total uncertainty about their future. Loudmouthed cliques of unreconstructed Nazis were already re-emerging, nurtured by grievances against the Occupying Powers, and a Communist party was breeding rapidly among the physical and moral wreckage of Germany. Over the Elbe, the Russians with their 200 divisions were glaring at the defenseless Western zones and there seemed every possibility that West Germany would share the fate of South Korea.

Stability and Recovery

Since those days, Dr. Adenauer has acted like a potent political tranquilizer on the West Germans. The undeviating clarity of his policies has brought a sanity and stability to the German political scene that has never existed before. Instead of the eight feeble governments that plagued the Weimar Republic during the first eight years of its existence, the Federal Republic has had only one. Piece by piece, those dangerous splinter parties have been whittled down until West Germany now has what amounts to a two-party system. The result is that the Germans are probably less neurotic than they have ever been, and are beginning to be able to discuss lucidly and dispassionately such "hot" issues as reunification and the Oder-Neisse line.

By creating six million new jobs, building four million houses, assimilating eleven million refugees, making Western Germany the most prosperous country in Europe, with a share in its prosperity spread over a large proportion of the population, that chubby wizard Professor Erhard has removed any economic grounds on which either Communists or neo-Nazis can breed. Through his wise and moderate foreign policies, Dr. Adenauer has made his country an equal partner among Allies she never had before. Thus the grievances springing from the feeling that the *Diktat* of Versailles had condemned the Germans to being a "second class" people, and which eventually paved the way for Hitler, were nipped in the bud. Because of his integration with the West, and entry into NATO, Dr. Adenauer has relieved the Germans of the dread fear of being overrun by Mongol hordes, and their neighbors of the equally dread fear of being overrun by anything worse than German economic competition. Without Germany's remarkable recovery, the rest of Europe would not have gained the prosperity it too is now enjoying; and as a result the Communist parties in Italy and France would undoubtedly be a great deal stronger than they are.

Dr. Adenauer's return to power presages an almost certain continuity in these beneficial trends. West Germany will continue to cooperate closely with the West; she will become the prime mover behind the European Common Market, with all the benefits that it implies for Europe; within a few years she will have the most effective army on the Continent. The Christian Democrats will continue to govern respectably and efficiently. Sated with the gastronomic excesses that to the Teuton are the hallmark of prosperity, the West Germans will grow less and less inclined to any irridentism, or double-dealing with their Allies, aimed at reunification—if this should imply any risk to their present standard of living. (The immense success of the "No Experiments" slogan which formed the spearhead of the Christian Democrat election campaign gave eloquent testimony to this new mood.)

Yet, for all this, I find it hard to feel as enthusiastic about Dr. Adenauer's electoral victory as I was in 1953. We Europeans are constantly being accused of adopting "double standards" when dealing with Germany—with a certain amount of justice. If the impressive efficiency and enthusiasm I found on a visit to a

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newly formed Panzer division last week had belonged to a British or American unit, my immediate reaction would have been one of immense satisfaction; instead it was impossible to stifle a twinge of disquiet evoked by past memories. The same is true of our attitude to Germany's current mood of "No Experiments," which is in many ways so much akin to the mood I found in pre-election America last year. In the States one felt concern that the Eisenhower "Peace and Prosperity" platform was fostering a state of complacency about the external world that could only be dangerous for all of us. Yet a thoroughly complacent, "Peace and Prosperity" Germany, devoid of any crusading instincts, is just the sort of Germany we would all most like to see for keeps.

One is also open to criticism for the same "double standards" in harboring misgivings about the sweeping Adenauer victory. In France, Italy or Britain the coming to power of a right of center party with as much strength as the CDU would be the cause of wild rejoicing among conservative forces in the world. But in Germany so much continuous power wielded by one party is frankly frightening for many conservative Europeans—again because of past associations.

In this respect, however, the "double standard" is not only limited to foreign observers. One of the most striking things about the 1957 elections here, compared with 1953, was the change in sympathy among intellectuals and political journalists in Bonn. Even among formerly loyal supporters of the CDU, there were few who had no reservations about the Adenauer victory. The principal factor behind these intellectuals' fear of Adenauer returning for a third time with a greatly increased majority was the damage they felt it might cause to German democracy.

When the British and Americans began "re-educating" the prostrate Germans in the ways of democracy, their pupils had just emerged from twelve years of monolithic dictatorship, and they could draw upon absolutely no democratic traditions and very few parliamentarians and administrators who were either untainted or experienced. Admirable as the ends pursued by Adenauer have been, it can hardly be said that his methods have always helped foster the growth of infant democracy in Germany.

It is certainly to a large degree his fault that a genuine debate is still almost unknown in the Bundestag, and that no tradition of independent-minded "back-benchers" has yet emerged. He delegates far too little responsibility to his own cabinet ministers, and they in turn have come to look upon what little responsibility they do have as being to him personally and not to the Parliament. Under him, the anti-cartel legislation which his Government promised the Allied High Commission it would carry through, has lagged sadly; with a result that once more there is a tendency to too much power concentrated in too few hands in the Ruhr. He has not urged forward reforms vitally needed within the Civil Service, which still at times seems unable to separate politics from administration (a small example of this confusion I witnessed at a SPD meeting when the local Chief of Police got up on the platform and declared himself to be a staunch party member!). Also under Adenauer the CDU party machine has developed a far too strongly centralized control, in which the opinions of rank and file carry little or no weight (By some sort of osmosis, the same has become true of the SPD.)

Future of Socialists

Although Adenauer failed to get a two-thirds majority, by which he could amend the Constitution against the wishes of the Opposition, his increased power will enable him to ride roughshod over the Socialists with less restraint than ever before—if he so desires. And he has already made it pretty clear that he means to rule just as he has in the past.

This would be a great pity, and must have serious results for the health of democracy in Germany. Apart from the bad effect his example can hardly avoid having upon a people to whom democracy is still a new and largely untested toy, it may wreak changes within the SPD that could have grave consequences for the future. If the Socialists begin to feel that they have lost all control over the country's policies they may eventually do one of two things. They may either collapse altogether as the Refugee Party has—which would be a disaster for parliamentary democracy in Germany—or in desperation they may be driven to radical extremes, bringing to the fore a "Bevanite" wing that would be prepared to cooperate with the Russians.

It has always been my view that on the issue of German reunification the Russians are playing a very long-range game—thinking in terms of ten to fifteen years ahead. They have, after all, absolutely no reason to quit the Soviet Zone; it is quite clear the West will never drive them out, and since Hungary they know that they will be allowed to crush with impunity any future uprising in East Germany. Over a long period of years, the Russians think that one of two things will happen. Either the East Germans will have become so steeped in doctrinaire Communism that it would be quite impossible to reunite Germany without the East converting the West; or else, in line with Marxist conceptions of the eventual fate of capitalism, East Germany will gradually grow more prosperous while prosperity in the Federal Republic is wrecked by economic crises.

It cannot be reckoned that the Social Democrats will remain forever in the wilderness, and an economic recession might well bring them into power. During such a recession the Christian Democrats would be in the unhappy position of being unable to play off "Peace and Prosperity" against their failure to reunite Germany, as they were able to do so successfully during the recent election. Thus the Socialists would have every prospect of coming into power on a reawakened wave of desire to do something about reunification. If they were by then an angry and frustrated party driven far to the left of their present position, they might well be prepared to drop Germany into the lap of Khrushchev or his successor.

Therefore it might be wise for Adenauer to be a little more flexible and a great deal less autocratic in his handling of the Socialist Opposition during the next four years, and to make more effort than he has made in the past to achieve a bi-partisan foreign policy.

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Letter from the Continent

Adenauer Triumph Turns Germany Towards a Two-Party System

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

The German elections resulted in another triumph for Dr. Adenauer, but this did not come as a surprise, since it had been predicted in its size and shape by the Gallup pollsters, German version. These elections, nevertheless, mark a certain turning point in German parliamentary history, because they represent a long step in the direction of a two-party system. Only two of the small parties were able to send deputies to the *Bundestag*: the conservative "German Party" (DP) and the pseudo-liberal, somewhat anti-clerical "Free Democratic Party" (FDP). The "German Party" exists only through the active support and help of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), which, in certain areas, refrained from putting up candidates, thus enabling the DP to get basic mandates. It is more than likely that in the next election the FDP will disappear from the scene, though the curious sentiments which underlie and motivate this party remain strong, because voters dislike a party which can play no role whatsoever in parliament. Adenauer may or may not include the FDP in a government coalition. He needs them no longer. He will include the DP group as a matter of loyalty.

In order to understand the magnitude of the Adenauer victory one must bear in mind that Germany's election system is a curious blend of Continental and Anglo-American patterns. Everybody has two votes: one for a local candidate and one for an all-national party list. If the German elections had taken place according to the American system there would have been 194 CDU deputies, 46 Socialists, one Free Democrat, and six adherents of the German Party. Solely owing to the added votes from national lists, the respective numbers are 270, 169, 41 and seventeen. The only consolation for the Socialists in this election is that they have more than one third of the seats in the *Bundestag*, which enables them to prevent any change in the Constitution. There can be little doubt that the CDU prefers an election system after the Anglo-American pattern. Such a system would almost guarantee its reign *in perpetuo*. This is the deadly fear of the Opposition.

It is significant that the CDU improved its hold on the industrial working class and on the Protestant regions of Lower Saxony, where Adenauer's party has to rely on the support of the Orthodox (not liberal) Lutheran clergy and laity. The biggest gains were made in Bavaria and North-Rhine-Westphalia, two federal states where all the small parties, out of a mixture of spite and fear, had formed local coalition governments to exclude the CDU from power. In Bavaria, at long last, the motley crowd which rules the country knows only too well that the majority of the voters oppose it.

The foreign press has been quick to point out that the Germans have fallen once more for the rule of an Iron Chancellor, and that the worst is to be feared for the future of German democracy. However, democratic government would have been far more endangered if the Socialists, with their neutralist sympathizers, had been successful. Still, Americans should be warned that a quick and easy comparison cannot be drawn between the CDU and the Republicans on the one hand and the Socialists and the Democrats on the other.

Party Ideologies

Though the ideological element is now less conspicuous in the German political scene, its residue is still strong in the two big parties. In the leadership of the CDU (though not necessarily among all its voters) there are none but actively professing Christians, outstanding Catholic laymen, Evangelical Church Elders, etc., who have very definite views on what state and society should represent, what values they should stand for. This does not mean that there is an iron party discipline in the CDU; Dr. Adenauer, while campaigning, proudly pointed out that the party has split in the *Bundestag* on many more issues than the Socialists have. (Individualism without its Christian prehistory is unthinkable.) Still, a Christian party will always be convinced that its *basic* religious principles are absolutely true and that those who disagree with them are in error. Christian legislation and secular legislation, Christian education and secular education, even a Christian foreign policy and a secular foreign policy, cannot be the same.

The ideological fiber of the Socialist Party, in spite of the surviving red flags and the form of address, "comrade," has been weakened, and the "Social Democratic Party" has become the great *Sammelpartei* of all those Germans who love to say "no" on principle. The German is not simply a yes-man, as the West likes to imagine. Yet to say "no" to an existing order or policy is not sufficient in itself; it leads to sterility, and there is the specific danger that the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the SPD, out of sheer opposition will become the party of nationalism and anti-Christianism. All the Social Democrats need for this purpose is a dynamic personality such as they had in Dr. Schumacher (who had both national and anti-clerical inclinations), but Schumacher is dead and Ollenhauer is small fry. If the Social Democrats, in desperate search for a program, embrace nationalism and anti-clericalism (read: anti-Christianism) then the CDU would decidedly stiffen, defending the State against any demagogical attacks coming from the left. In the past we have seen Christian parties become tough and autocratic if driven into a corner. And one wonders what will happen if, at the time of the next election in four years, the Socialists have become more desperate and demagogical and the CDU even stronger in numbers.

In one sense all this does not bode well for democracy. Yet a diversity of many small parties promises no better, and a victory of the Socialists, enemies of NATO, least of all.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

The New Levellers

RUSSELL KIRK

In George Gissing's novel *The Nether World,* an intelligent and philanthropic young man of means establishes a reading-room for workingmen, and endeavors to organize discussion-circles in the Clerkenwell slums. He fails in very short order: after a brief experience of Great Books, the workingmen's circle shrinks to two—one of whom hopes for the job as librarian. Even in earnest late-Victorian times, the workingman successfully resisted Culture with a Roman C. More recent attempts of the sort in France, as Roy Campbell wrote somewhere, also have collapsed because of the instinctive resistance of the workingman.

All the same, English working-people once had their own strength of character, inner resources, harmless occupations and amusements, and even decent literary inclinations of a sort. Some part of the working classes of Britain still retain these merits—particularly the generation that is passing. But the great majority appear to be sinking into the dreary condition of a true proletariat, rootless and apathetic, bored and loveless.

Mr. Richard Hoggart, himself come from a working-class family in the north of England, describes the symptoms of the decay with a mingled loathing and compassion. *The Uses of Literacy: Changing Patterns in English Mass Culture* (Essential Books, $5.00) is a sociological study, but Mr. Hoggart is no professional sociologist. Quite the contrary: he is a brilliant essayist, a professor of English literature, long experienced in adult-education work; and he is a very wise man and a most able writer. It is difficult to resist the temptation to turn this review into a pastiche of quotations from his moving and dismaying book.

The Victorian optimists looked forward to a time when the great mass of men would read serious journals and employ the bank and capital of their private rationality to advance liberal causes. It was all to be a matter of schooling, cheap books, the British Museum, and earnest improvers in Bloomsbury. But nothing of the sort happened. The uses of literacy, for the great majority of the working classes, have been immersion in what Godkin called "the nearest approach to a Hell upon earth, yellow journalism," and what Arthur Machen once spoke of as "that damnable vile business."

"Popular" newspapers and books have grown still more vile in England since then. The last survivor among the turn-of-the-century "culture for the masses" weeklies, *John o'London's,* ceased publication two years ago; while even the less sensational and sexational newspapers and magazines of the established vulgar sort are now hard-pressed by the cheesecake-and-scandal publications that sell by the hundreds of millions every year in modern Britain. Humanitarian reformers like Mr. Seebohm Rowntree and Lord Beveridge, appalled by the tastes and selfishness of the twentieth-century urban masses, recently have gone so far as to suggest that, after all, man does not live by welfare alone, and that universal suffrage may have been a mistake. Mr. Hoggart writes:

> My argument is not that there was, in England one generation ago, an urban culture still very much "of the people" and that now there is only a mass urban culture. It is rather that the appeals made by the mass publicists are for a greater number of reasons made more insistently, effectively, and in a more comprehensive and centralized form today than they were earlier; that we are moving towards the creating of a mass culture; that the remnants of what was at least in parts an urban culture "of the people" are being destroyed; and that the new mass culture is in some important ways less healthy than the often crude culture it is replacing.

Much read in Tocqueville, Mr. Hoggart knows the terrible power of cultural leveling. The desire for conformity, he says, joined to a galloping egalitarianism, "has during the past sixty or seventy years been more and more played upon to move and persuade, in magazines and newspapers specifically designed to attract a literate working-class." And that dreary conformity has been to a "glassily hermaphrodite" taste in reading-matter and in life. "From then on has developed, with increasing elaboration, all the well-known cant of 'the common man'; a grotesque and dangerous flatter, since he is conceived as the most common or commonplace man. 'Rely on the people'; all are equal, all have a vote; all are 'as good as one another'; 'the voice of the people is the voice of God' (to recall an old-fashioned form); therefore in all things, says the publicist, your attitudes are as good as anyone else's; but since you share the opinions of the great majority, you are more right than the odd outsiders."

These are the new masses, envious of every form of superiority. It is not Sir Osbert Sitwell or Mr. Evelyn Waugh who is saying this; it is Mr. Hoggart, who knows the working classes from the inside. There is not much love left among them, nor are they lovely. They are, indeed, very close to being the "proles" of *1984.* Their interest in the printed page is principally a very disagreeable sort of sex-interest, "largely 'in the head'

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and eye, a removed, vicarious thing. It thinks of itself as a smart and sophisticated interest, but is really bloodless and reduced to a very narrow range of responses; slickness disguising emotional thinness is no improvement on the older kind of family magazine." Henry Brougham, like enough, would have been startled at the consequences of mass literacy.

Being a remarkably sensible as well as a sensitive writer, Mr. Hoggart is not suggesting that the whole working-class population ought somehow to be turned into "scholarship boys," existing in a defecated world of pseudo-intellectuality. Some of his pity is reserved for the "minor intelligentsia":

> Some have a precarious tenancy in several near-intellectual worlds. If so, they are likely to believe in "freedom" and to be "anti-authoritarian"; they will have heard of the National Council for Civil Liberties and will read the *New Statesman and Nation*. . . . Yet they will be more disconcerted when meeting "reactionary" opposition than they should be, because they will then be meeting externally problems still not resolved in their own personalities.

Mr. Hoggart does not despair of the future of these people. With Lear, he says that "The wonder is they have endured so long." Cheerfulness will keep breaking in: crafts, cycling, animal-breeding and gardening still make some headway against the deluge of pornography, sour envious gutter-journalism, and decay of personality. He does not ask that working people be all persuaded to take pleasure "in feeling like a cross between Mr. Kingsley Martin and Tiresias." He does not seek to make the men and women who turn "the great wheel of circulation" into Bloomsbury exotics, or even evangels of Progress. "There are other ways of being in the truth. The strongest objection to the more trivial popular entertainments is not that they prevent their readers from becoming highbrow, but that they make it harder for people without an intellectual bent to become wise in their own way."

The mass culture which Mr. Hoggart describes with eloquent, though restrained, loathing is not peculiar to Britain. The rising generation of working-people there stuff themselves with penny-dreadful novels of sadism and horror, English imitations of James M. Cain and Mickey Spillane. Yet, so far as I know, no British university-lecturer offers courses in the works of those "socially significant and vital" writers. American professors do; I know. We have got that much further along the road to mass culture.

Trumpet-Tongued Foe of Coercion

RICHARD M. WEAVER

In *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making* (Lippincott, $7.50) Robert Douthat Meade undertakes a definitive biography of the man whose eloquence did much to bring about American independence. Although this volume, the first of two projected by the author, traces his career only as far as the Continental Congress, it is valuable for its account of his background and of his entrance upon the theater of the Revolution.

Henry's father, John Henry (of a family which earlier spelled its name "Hendrie"), was a product of the bleak northeast of Scotland. After attending the University of Aberdeen for four years, he decided to exchange the rigors of his native environment for the opportunities of America. Arriving in Virginia in 1727, he petitioned Governor Gooch for a tract of land in Hanover County. Here he married a widow, and here in 1736 was born a son, who was named Patrick after an uncle.

Young Henry's formal education was brief, but it was sound. After he had attended a common school until the age of ten, his education was taken over by his father, under whose tutoring he learned some Latin and Greek and became, according to a contemporary account, "well acquainted with the mathematics, of which he was very fond." We are also told that by the age of fifteen he was "well versed in both ancient and modern history."

After two failures as a storekeeper, Henry, in desperate straits to support a family which he had started by the age of eighteen, decided to become a lawyer. His preparation consisted of reading law for considerably less than a year—by one account for only six weeks—and when he journeyed to Williamsburg for his license, the board was reluctant even to admit him to examination. One of the examiners afterward said "he was so ignorant of law at the time, that he should not have passed him, had he not discovered his great genius." In this way Henry squeaked by to begin his real career.

The event which first stamped him as a remarkable orator was not the speech containing the famous peroration "Give me liberty or give me death." It was a courtroom performance twelve years earlier in which Henry suddenly rose to prominence as an advocate in the celebrated "Parson's Cause."

Since 1696 the clergy of the established church in Virginia had been paid in tobacco, the rate of their salaries being fixed at 16,000 pounds of the weed per annum. Owing to bad crop conditions in the 1750s, the Virginia General Assembly amended this rule to permit payment either in tobacco or in money at the rate of two pence per pound. As tobacco often sold much higher than this, the parsons felt that they were being cheated out of part of their salaries and began to file suits for unpaid balances. It was an issue involving conflict between the authority of the colonial assembly and that of the Crown, which never sanctioned the new rule.

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In 1763 Henry was retained to defend the "collectors" of Hanover County against a suit for damages of the Reverend James Maury for arrears of salary. After a fumbling beginning which left his friends disconcerted, he suddenly caught fire and launched into that fervid style which was to make him one of the great orators of the age. By the end of the first twenty minutes the audience was hanging forward in "deathlike silence," and many afterwards testified to having felt "bereft of their senses" by the force of his eloquence. For two generations thereafter the highest compliment that could be paid to a speaker in Virginia was, "He is almost equal to Patrick when he pleaded against the parsons." The jury awarded damages of one penny, and Henry was immediately recognized as the boldest champion of colonial rights.

Two years later Henry, now a member of the House of Burgesses, offered a set of resolutions on the Stamp Act. The first four of these were relatively mild declarations, but the fifth, which branded anyone who denied the exclusive right of the General Assembly to levy taxes an enemy of American freedom, brought on a "most bloody debate." It was here that Henry, rising to heights in defense of the resolution, declared: "Tarquin and Caesar had each his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third may profit by their example." To cries of "Treason! Treason!" he made the famous reply, "If this be treason, make the most of it."

How great actually was Henry as an orator? Has the legend of his prowess merely mushroomed with time? Evidently not, for the impression he made upon the discerning of his time was deep and lasting. Jefferson, who was notably candid in such matters, wrote that "Mr. Henry's talents as a popular orator . . . were indeed great, such as I never heard from any other man. He appeared to me to speak as Homer wrote." And the widely read and philosophical George Mason could say: "He is by far the most powerful speaker I ever heard. Every word he says not only engages but commands the attention; and your passions are no longer your own when he addresses them."

Though not original or profound, Henry had the true rhetorician's gift of bringing abstract propositions into relation with the urgency of actual situations. A child of the eighteenth-century political enlightenment, he conceived it his chief duty to combat the coercions of church and state. Professor Meade often refers to his "liberalism," and he was a liberal in the old sense of placing freedom far ahead of security. That is good reason to renew his acquaintance today, and to hope that someone equally trumpet-tongued will arise to defy the newer and more omnivorous forms of statism.

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION: A WHITE BOOK, edited by Melvin J. Lasky (Praeger, $5.00). Here, in a day-by-day account of Hungarian magnificence, history celebrates the degradation of America. Perhaps Editor Lasky, sorting the trash of editorial "pity" that was our response to the epic of Budapest, failed to realize the effect that his "white book" would achieve. For in this volume of contemporary accounts, one crucial news dispatch is eloquently missing: the story that tells of American efforts to aid the Freedom Fighters. Instead, we find a Hungarian newsman wiring the AP: "Long live Hungary and Europe! . . . We shall die for Hungary and Europe! . . . Any news about help? . . . Quickly, quickly, quickly. . . . What is the United Nations doing? . . . Give us a little encouragement. . . ." And, answering for the West, Mr. Archibald MacLeish compassionately explaining that we could only "sit back and watch," because otherwise we, too, might have to die—which is unthinkable. This book is recommended reading only for those who can take their shame in large doses. C. L.

WHAT I SAID ABOUT THE PRESS, by Randolph Churchill (World, $3.95). In England, there are a large number of newspapers devoted almost exclusively to "the worst that's fit to print." This is perfectly legal, and would remain merely vulgar and deplorable if those same papers, as well as all the other non-pornographic papers, including the *Times* itself, were not quietly united in what amounts to a cartel: a "Dog Don't Eat Dog" conspiracy of silence. Randolph Churchill began playing David to these Fleet Street Philistines in 1953, when he delivered three speeches in which, for the first time, he named names—chiefly Lord Rothermere's—and called filth filth. The London papers remained adamantly silent, and it was only the next year, when one of the accused editors called Churchill a "paid hack," that he was able to bring the war out into the open with a libel suit. He won, very gracefully; and this little book reprints his original speeches and the court record. This much truth—the hard, bald, not-so-pleasant-type—is exposed to daylight so rarely, that the book is worth reading just to see how it feels to blink at it. R. B.

THESE ARE THE BRITISH, by Drew Middleton (Knopf, $4.50). For twelve years Mr. Middleton has known England as correspondent for the *New York Times*. For all the perceptivity in this pedestrian book, he might as well have stayed in Times Square. Taine's *England* is available in a new translation now. Taine learned more about the English in twelve weeks than Mr. Middleton has in as many years—and what is nearly as important, knew how to write. R. K.

GHOST SHIP OF THE CONFEDERACY, by Edward Boykin (Funk & Wagnalls, $4.95). According to this book the greatest commerce raider, counting number of prizes, in the history of sea warfare was Captain Rafael Semmes with his ships Sumter and Alabama. In three years he accounted for 87 ships, captured, sunk, or burned, and brought about a very serious crisis to the Union, both naval and political. Semmes' strategy was to attack merchantmen far from the American coast in order to draw

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off the Union warships that were throttling the South with a close blockade of Confederate ports and rivers. He was so successful that he is perhaps entitled to rank with the great Drake himself in harassment of a superior naval enemy. Mr. Boykin tells the story in lively style and expert detail. All Civil War buffs and a great many others should enjoy reading it. M. M. G.

To THE UNKOWN LADY, by André Maurois, translated by John Buchanan-Brown (Dutton, $2.95). By means of a series of letters to an Unknown Lady, André Maurois shares with the world his philosophy, wisdom, and wit. Commenting and counseling on life and love, he combines delicacy with strength, idealism with realism, humor with sobriety. What he says is as timely and as timeless as good character, good sense, and good taste. F. B.

A MAN AGAINST INSANITY, by Paul de Kruif (Harcourt, $3.95). Mr. de Kruif reports, with the stylistic crudity that passes for "slick" journalism these days, the career of a physician who became insane and, after recovering, specialized in the use of neurochemical drugs to calm psychopathic patients. The reader is given the impression that the successful treatment of insanity is a recent discovery, but the author's attempt to make the story "dramatic" succeeds only in making it seem a little improbable, as well as vulgar. R.P.O.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF INSANITY, by a Late Inmate of the Glasgow Royal Asylum (Greenberg, $3.00). This anonymous book was first published in 1860. It was written by a man who had twice been violently mad, but was among the 49.26 per cent who were cured at the asylum of which he was an inmate. He writes with candor and dignity in unpretentious but lucid English, and examines his own case and the general manifestations of lunacy with such objectivity and sound sense that one wonders whether the net result of the deluge of psychological research in the past hundred years has not been a retrogression of our ability to understand insanity. R.P.O.

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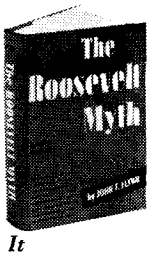

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To the Editor

Sharing the Weapons Plan

Aren't all our fears about the Soviets having first (?) developed the ICBM somewhat unwarranted, since there is a course of action which will put all countries on an equal basis?

Let the United States promote the organization of a group of nations (within the framework of the United Nations, of course) interested in fostering travel or mail delivery by ICBM. Let's state the purpose of the group as the "Promotion of the peaceful use of the ICBM."

The Soviet Union will of course contribute all her technical data and make it available to the organization even as the United States has agreed to be the major contributor to the world pool of uranium for peaceful uses. . . .

CLEMENT C. MASON, JR.
Richmond Hill, N.Y.

"Why the South Must Prevail"

It pains me to see NATIONAL REVIEW's reputation for fairness and clear thinking marred by two recent editorials . . . "Why the South Must Prevail" and "A Clarification" [August 24, September 7].

NATIONAL REVIEW has quite rightly pointed out that some recent Supreme Court decisions have been based on sociological considerations rather than on an objective interpretation of the Constitution. Now, NATIONAL REVIEW proceeds to whip up a little sociological froth of its own: Southern white culture is superior to Southern Negro culture; therefore, a great many native-born American Negro citizens should be deprived of their right to vote.

. . . You stated that "the problem in the South is . . . how to equip the Negro—and a great many Whites—to cast an enlightened and responsible vote." . . . Why confine this uplift program to the South? Surely the millions of whites whose cultural horizons are bounded by Elvis Presley and Ed Murrow could also benefit from such a campaign.

I'm afraid NATIONAL REVIEW has not seriously considered the problems which would be raised by any concrete efforts to improve the quality of the electorate in this way. One wonders who is to set these "reasonable limitations upon the vote." And who is to administer the crucial tests to determine one's degree of cultural advancement. . . .

Your editorials strike me as not so much conservative as aristocratic. . . . I do believe that we should have the courage to take a chance on universal suffrage.

CATHERINE B. WILLIS
Long Island City, N.Y.

Thank you for the editorial on segregation in the issue of August 24. Some of us had begun to revise our opinions of American conservative thought, especially in the light of such articles as Willmoore Kendall's on the nature of conservatism [August 31]. But in that vicious and wholly amoral thesis you exposed again the basic savagery of the reactionary mentality at bay.

WILLIAM MUEHL
Professor of Practical Theology
Yale University Divinity School
New Haven, Conn.

["The South confronts one grave moral challenge. It must not exploit the fact of Negro backwardness to preserve the Negro as a servile class. It is tempting and convenient to block the progress of a minority whose services, as menials, are economically useful. Let the South never permit itself to do this. So long as it is merely asserting the right to impose superior mores for whatever period it takes to effect a genuine cultural equality between the races, and so long as it does so by humane and charitable means, the South is in step with civilization, as is the Congress that permits it to function."

—From the editorial, "Why the South Must Prevail"]

The Supreme Court

Compliments on the beautiful editorial in the September 21 issue, "The Court Views Its Handiwork." Many times I have said to my children that I thought the United States Supreme Court's 1954 integration decision was the saddest thing that had happened to our beloved country since the Civil War—that it had opened a Pandora's box of grief for all of us and that I felt someday the framers of the decision would view the results and regretfully decide they had acted neither wisely nor well.

Imagine my delight in seeing my own thoughts expressed by someone else so beautifully, so truthfully and so poignantly!

Wynnewood, Pa. MARY PORTER

An Old Montenegrin Custom

I believe I've read in the *New Leader* today just about the twentieth review of the Djilas book. Nobody seems aware of the fact that Djilas is a Montenegrin, congenitally agin the government, and so bound to turn on *himself* when he finds himself in the embarrassing position of being that against which a good Montenegrin should be in revolt.

Bernardsville, N.J. HEPTISAX

Orchids for Advertiser

Hats off to Mr. William McLaughlin, who took a full-page ad in your issue of September 14 to correct the *New York Times'* misinformation about his home town! I enjoyed every word of his public-spirited reply.

New York City M. S. WARD

"Books in Review"

I was delighted by James Jackson Kilpatrick's "The South's 'Granitic Opposition'" in the September 21 issue. It shows literary and critical skill of the highest order.

Mr. Kilpatrick's spiritual and intellectual qualities, coupled with his superb courage, make him a Conservative Gibraltar on which the hypocrisy and deceit of the Liberal Establishment will surely be wrecked.

Logan, W. Va. FRED HAISLIP

Brent Bozell's review [September 14], "None So Blind" is outstanding—it is a splendid analysis of what has been done to us in the last twenty-five years and by whom. In my opinion he has one of the most incisive minds in America.

Unlike those internationalist visionaries still intent upon trying to buy love in the brothel of European politics but who are all so obsessed by middle-of-the-road compromise that they never get anything settled —even by war—Mr. Bozell goes to the roots of our problem and states his conclusions with real clarity and force.

Pasadena, Cal. H. L. SPENCER

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(*Continued from p. 302*)

dain even the formality of filing a tax return while outspoken critics of the Establishment are frequently singled out for special attention and harrassment. But the primary purpose of repeal is to cripple the bureaucracy.

By its very nature a bureaucracy is inevitably the enemy of human freedom and decency. Like cancers and other malignant evils, its nature compels it to grow without limit until it has destroyed its victim. Each cell of this malignancy is a little man behind a big desk, whose natural human ambitions can find an outlet only in the quest for more power, so that he instinctively spins his web about a citizen as the spider spins hers about a fly; and if he occasionally gobbles one of his fellows, it is only to breed more of his kind.

This is a fact of nature, and even if we grant that the bureaucrat and spider may in their own minds identify their appetities with noble purposes, the victim can escape only if he breaks the web. Repeal of the income tax will not, to be sure, abolish the bureaucracy, but it will reduce it to more manageable size and will, at least temporarily, remind the little men that there is a power greater than their own caprice.

The conservative strategy will be to force public hearings on House Joint Resolution 355, which calls for the repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment (and provides certain necessary safeguards), at the coming session of Congress. If it can be demonstrated before a congressional committee that the oppressive tax is unnecessary, even the best efforts of the bureaucracy and its servile press to confuse the issue may fail.

There was, however, one question about which no one at Chicago was willing to speculate. Everyone remembers that not long ago it was generally conceded that the Administration could not prevent Congress from effecting modest reductions in the income tax, and that almost immediately thereafter American troops were sent to Korea to begin the war they were forbidden to win. This may, of course, be a coincidence, but if there should be some causal relation between the two events, what would be the probable consequences of a serious threat to sever completely the tap root of American totalitarianism?

Member of the board
(in absentia)

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